1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The mobility of people other than household heads was much less. Women and children could move only with the permission, and usually in the company, of their lord and master. Occasionally old and trusted wives might be sent, unsupervised, on a journey by their husbands or their brothers, usually to carry messages and bring back gossip, but young wives were never trusted to be out of sight either of the husband or of elderly female supervisors. Young men were less subject to their fathers' orders and hence were fairly free to come and go as they pleased, but the universal suspicion which all husbands bore toward wandering young men put severe restrictions on their mobility and prevented them attaching themselves to any household or camp in which they did not have some close relative.

The fact, then, that a man like Tu'untalumi was (in Tiwi terms) very mobile did not necessarily mean that members of his household shared his degree of mobility. When he took most of his large household with him on his journeys away from home, as he often did, it was always because he was going a considerable distance and was traveling slowly, living off the country as he went. In such cases he liked to have a large retinue to feed him on the way and also to permit him to entertain in fitting style when he arrived. For while it was true that at a funeral or at an initiation the relatives of the deceased or of the novices were supposed to take care of the feeding of all the visitors, nonetheless, wealthy and generous men like Tu'untalumi believed in taking along with them a bevy of young wives, with a couple of efficient elderly widow-wives in charge of them, to contribute to the food-getting and food-preparing activities. Of course the supervision of the young wives' morals in the strange environment was often difficult, especially in the hectic atmosphere of a big ceremonial, but this worry was compensated for by the fact that the visitor who came so attended was contributing a number of extra food providers to the labor force of the harassed hosts and thus making a generous gesture, and also by the fact that such a visitor was not dependent upon the hospitality provided by the hosts. Having his own food-producing unit with him, he could live better and stay longer than if he had come alone or only as one of a party of men. In this respect, as in so many others, a Tiwi household head's decision had to be reached by balancing against one another the two competing motives of, on the one hand, the desire to eat well and, on the other, the desire to keep his young wives safe from prowling bachelors. Ki-in-kumi, the wealthiest man of the Malauila band, usually decided not only to leave his wives at home but also not even to go himself. But Ki-in-kumi was a gloomy, pessimistic old man. Tu'untalumi usually decided to do the thing in style, travel with a large retinue, have all the comforts of home while in strange districts, and take his chances on the strange bachelors. He clearly believed that a good booming ceremony with lots to eat and himself in the center directing the dancing was well worth the risk of a few of his young wives being seduced off-stage. Men like Ki-in-kumi thought Tu'untalumi an old fool for not leaving his young wives at home, and Tu'untalumi probably thought that old Ki-in-kumi might as well be dead, especially since his death would be the occasion for a really magnificent funeral.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

115 owe much, not only for the many bark baskets and paintings they made, but also for the wealth of information they so courteously imparted to me about the creation of their world, their totemic ancestors and the philosophies of their people.

These two old men are the storehouses of the tribal beliefs and philoso- [184] phies. As the younger men are no longer taking a deep interest in their tribal [178] lore, the passing of *Tjamalampua* and *Malumerinita* will be an irreparable loss to the aborigines of Melville Island.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Circles *b*, *c*, are places where the women stood at *Purukupali's* ceremony, and lines *c*, *c*, the paths they made as they danced toward the central dancing ground, the *milimika*.

According to other informants, the honey-men from Bathurst Island and other groups from western Melville Island assembled and performed an *ilania* at Tuju, while the people from south and south-western Melville Island performed yet another *ilania* at Puntubu (Fig. 1).

At the conclusion of these *ilanias* the mythical people from the west met at Rulijunga, where *Mantinuria*, one of the eucalyptus-tree women (Pl. 18A) had prepared a ceremonial ground for them. Here the assembled people performed another *ilania*, after which they moved off as a body to Timbaranapi, where the "workers", having cut the poles and prepared the *pukamuni* spears, baskets and other paraphernalia, had already assembled for the final *ilania*.

After a ceremonial fight[33] and the performance of the *ilania* ceremony, the men and women travelled to Tapararimi by different paths to carry out the final rituals.

A simple bark painting, Pl. 2A, pictures the *pukamuni* ground of *Purukupali* at Tapararimi.

The lower black space is the ceremonial ground (*milimika*) on which the participants performed their dances, and the white area on the top, the several honey-men, one of whom, *Talinini*, was in charge of the rituals.

The five upright vertical panels are the *tudinis* (*pukamuni* poles); the lower line of black horizontal rectangles represents the red ochre, and the upper line of rectangles, black paint, with which the performers decorated themselves.

The dots represent paint on the bodies of the caterpillar men, the *Maludaianini*, who, at the close of the ceremony, transformed themselves into the Milky Way.

The *pukamuni* rituals and those who mourned beside the poles at Tapararimi are illustrated on a bark painting, Pl. 2D, E.

The central black oval, *c*, is the swift whirlpool off Impanĭli, where *Purukupali*, walking along the track, *f*, *f*, with his dead son in his arms, drowned himself.

[33] In the ceremonies of the present day, the "workers" when they return from cutting the poles, which are adjacent to the grave, are looked upon as *mopaditis* (spirits of the dead). Before the *ilania* can proceed, the *pukamuni* men and the "workers" take part in a ceremonial fight (Pl. 21D), in which the "workers" (as *mopaditis*) are vanquished. During creation times, a similar fight took place at Timbaranapi, when the *pukamuni* people from the west coast met the "workers" from the east.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

765 (i) The ceremonial fight between the *pukamuni* men and the "workers" returning from cutting the poles which are near the grave.

(ii) The feeding of the "workers" by the *pukamuni* men and women.

(iii) The totemic songs and dances.

(iv) The *punati*, in which married men and women beat the relatives of their spouses with boughs.

(v) The rite of fire-jumping (*wandiatapinda*).

(i) *The Ceremonial Fight.* When, late in the afternoon, the "workers" were returning to the *milimika* from the grave site, where they have been cutting the burial poles, they announced their coming with the honey and mosquito calls.

The *alouwia*, who had assembled the *pukamuni* men in the *milimika* in readiness for this ritual, answered with the honey call.

The "workers" emerged from the forest in a body and, running toward the men in the *milimika*, cast short sticks, as spears, at the *pukamuni* men, who replied vigorously with throwing sticks, neither group of contestants, however, trying to hit the other.

The "workers" having exhausted their spears, rushed into the *milimika*, where, to the accompaniment of much laughter and good-humour, they wrestled with the *pukamuni* men (Pl. 25D), until they (the "workers") were pushed out of the *milimika*.[83]

(ii) *The Feeding of the Workers.* It is the duty of the *pukamuni* group to feed the "workers" while they are cutting and painting the poles.

On the edge of the *milimika* were two baskets, both painted red, one made by a woman of the rain and freshwater totem of Wailu, and the other by a woman of the fire totem of Wuriupi, the totemic place of the dead man, *Waniamperi*. Food caught or gathered by the *pukamuni* men and women was cooked and placed in those baskets for the "workers" only, it being taboo to all members of the *pukamuni* group.

After the "workers" had been "vanquished" in the ceremonial fight, the *pukamuni* men carried the baskets[84] into the centre of the *milimika* and there stood guard while the "workers" had their meal (Pl. 25B).

[184] [775] [789] [83] There is no clear-cut belief behind this ritual. Some informants said that the "workers", having been adjacent to the grave for many hours, were inhabited by *mopaditii* who must be driven out before the "workers" are "safe" to associate with the *pukamuni* group; others said that the *mopaditii*, following close on the heels of the "workers" had to be frightened away by what, to them, appeared to be a real fight, before the *ilonias* could start.

[84] These baskets, though they always stood on the edge of the *milimika*, were not often used in the *ilonias* we witnessed, as the participants were able to get most of the food they required from the settlement. If, however, the burial ceremony had been held at some remote place, the *pukamuni* men and women would have had to spend the day in hunting in order to provide food for the "workers".

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
O120 Tiwi O120

(e) *The Final Mourning Rituals*

765 As soon as the poles were in place the "workers" pulled away the bushes covering the grave. This was a signal for the closing phases of the final rituals. Everyone, men and women, from both Melville and Bathurst Islands, rushed forward and threw themselves on top of one another at the base of the burial poles, until the ground, and even the grave itself, was covered with a mass of human beings, each mourning heartbrokenly.

[302] After a period of mourning, *Jibungtialuni* and *Wurarbuti* rose to their feet, cut off the beards they had grown for the occasion,[84] and washed the painted decorations from their bodies, while the mourners, assembling close [535] to the poles, impersonated, in almost hysterical dance and song, the shark, the rain-woman, the jabiru, and many other mythical heroes of creation times.

Nangrinini, assisted by his wife, first performed the basket dance (Pl. 26c),[85] then once more the dance of the bark canoe. *Pulanimbuwi*, who danced beside him, acted the part of *Jirakati* (Pl. 30j), the sea-eagle, swooping down on its prey.

The return of the ceremonial leaders to the grave was the signal for another exhibition of mass hysteria. Weeping women, beating themselves with sticks, threw themselves on the top of the grave, while men, leaning over the burial poles, mourned continuously in high-pitched wails.

Gradually the sounds of lamentation became less. One by one the mourners left, until there remained only the crouching body of *Waniamperi's* widow, painted entirely in black, a little wizened woman, whose span of life was almost spent.

(2) *The Final Pukamuni of Makapini*

(a) *The Opening Rituals*

[302] A little before sunset, the Melville Island men and women assembled to decorate themselves for the final rituals, while *Kitapipatu* (Pl. 27A), a sister of the dead woman, *Makapini*, carrying a long stick, and painted entirely in white, wandered among the *pukamuni* people, crying the *amburu* song.

[184] The body decorations finished, which neither took as long, nor were as elaborate as at the *pukamuni* of *Waniamperi*, the performers assembled about twenty yards from the three burial poles (Pl. 34A, B, F), which the "workers" had hidden from view by a screen of boughs.

[177] [84] Before the days of the white man, the Tiwi men did not cut their beards at the final *pukamuni*, but plucked them out in handfuls. Spencer, 1928, p. 673, Fig. 467, both illustrates and records having seen this curious ritual in the *kulama* ceremony.

[85] Mountford, 1956, p. 434.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

202 765 *pukamuni*s, and cane armlets, *jairinis*. Then, taking a female *pukamuni* spear, *tunkaguni*, in his hand he seated himself within sight of the camp.

[301] [302] The local aborigines went out to welcome him, but on seeing the message stick and hearing the news, they mourned hysterically, cutting their heads [785] and beating themselves with sticks.

When the mourning died down, the aborigines gave the messenger a meal, [574] after which he returned to his own camp.

[126] [184] [794] Although the general distribution of the totemic *purunkitas* has been discontinued in recent years, the aborigines who knew them well, made nine examples for me. It would seem that each totemic place had its own particular design, for when I showed the *purunkita* (Fig. 7D) to old *Tjamalampua* and *Malumerinita*, neither of whom had seen it previously, they recognized it immediately as a message stick which would have been sent to the *Mudungkala* totemic group of Buchanan Island, at the southern entrance to Apsley Straits. However, other *purunkitas*, i.e. (Fig. 5C; Fig. 5F, G, H; and Fig. 6A, E) are still being used in the *pukamuni* rituals.

During the early days of our stay, when the *ilanias* of *Waniamperi's pukamuni* were about to start, three men, two of them, *Marawani* and *Uramatjina*, being the chief mourners, made a journey to the Bathurst Island people for the purpose of giving them a *purunkita* and telling them the news.

A few days later a Bathurst Island man returned with the message stick, Fig. 5F, G, H, and verbal instructions relating to the forthcoming burial rituals.

[126] Although I did not see the message stick which *Marawani* and his companions carried to Bathurst Island, I was able to make a rubbing of another (Fig. 7C), which was sent to the same locality on the death of *Pulanimbuwi's* wife.

Later, old *Tjamalampua* sent another message stick (Fig. 7A, B), to the men of the *Mudungkala* totem of Buchanan Island, asking for European goods and food to pay the "workers" at the final rituals of *Waniamperi's pukamuni*.

Notification of Death

202 211 ×532 The designs on message stick, Fig. 7C, which an aboriginal carried to the Bathurst Island people, together with the news of the death of *Nulatini*, did not, in any way, refer to the message that accompanied it, but to topographical details along the motor road between Snake Bay and Cockle Point on Apsley Straits.

The upper section, *d*, is the aboriginal camp at Snake Bay, and the indentations, *a*, *a*, are the rocks on its shores. The cross-hatched rectangle in the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

532 X
773
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The crescent, *a*, symbolises the eastern horizon, beneath which both the sun-woman and moon-man have their camps; the transverse panels, *j*, *j*, *j*, indicate the western horizon.

The disc, *b*, is the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, while the black dot in the centre is her life essence, *imunka* (p. 137).

The sun-woman again is represented by the white disc, *s*, on the upper edge. This time she has several of the blazing torches, *m*, *n*, which she carries across the sky. Her many camps in the east are at *p*, *p*, etc. (lower edge).

The white oval, *h* (upper centre), is the moon-man, *Tjapara*, with his torches, shown as a series of radiating lines. Crescent, *g*, is the waxing, *f*, the waning moon, and the three adjacent squares, *e*, *e*, *e*, are places in the east where the moon-man made his camps. The cross-hatched areas, *p*, *k*, etc., indicate the men of the Milky Way, *Maludaianini*, and the groups of dots, such as *t*, the star-women, *Tapalingas*. At *o* (upper right) is an unidentified celestial tree.

Pl. 60A, B, pictures two suns, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala*,[80] the moon, *Tjapara* and the stars, *Tapalinga*.

One of the sun-women, *Wuriupranala*, is shown at *f* (upper edge) the circle of radiating lines, *g*, symbolizing the flames of her bark torch. At *h*, on the bottom of the painting, is the other sun-woman, *Murupiangkala* with her bark torch, *j*. The moon-man, *Tjapara*, is at *b*, his head at *e*, his shoulders at *c*, and his genitals at *d*.

The oval at *k* (upper right), is a mountain in the east from the top of which *Wuriupranala* or *Murupiangkala* alternately set out on their daily journey across the sky. The white oval at *l* (upper left) indicates the mountain on the western horizon where the sun-women rest for a while before they travel to the Kumpinulu lagoon, and prepare and eat their meal before returning to the east via the underground road, *m* (upper left).

The designs on the lower edge of the painting deal with the journey of the sun-woman, *Murupiangkala*; the white design *o*, is the mountain in the east from which she sets out on her journey across the sky; *p* represents the mountain in the west where she finishes her journey.

At *a*, *a*, etc., are the wives of *Tjapara*, the planets, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Mars. Black ovals, *b*, *s*, are dark-coloured rain clouds, and ovals, *q*, *q*, clouds reddened by sunrise and sunset light. The dots are the star-women, the *Tapalingas*, the wives of the men of the Milky Way.

Pl. 63A, B, deals with the sky journey of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

[80] The artist claimed that two sun-women travelled alternately across the sky. This, however, was not the dominant belief.

[184]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

At *c*, is the sun-woman with her *imunka* (life essence) (see Pl. 61A, B). Her palm-leaf baskets are at *u* and *r* (left); her hair-string belts at *k*, *v* (bottom); a dingo-skin hair ornament is at *s* (left), and her head at *m* (top left).

The place where the sun woman appears above the eastern horizon is indicated at *f* (bottom) with her mid-day camp at *g*. There she makes a fire, *e* (the four radiating lines being the firewood), and cooks the food she has collected during the morning. Black rain clouds are indicated at *d*, and a thin cloud, which partly obscures the sun, at *h*.

The upper section of the painting deals with the evening camp *o*, of the sun-woman. Her fire and firewood are at *p*, *q*.

At *n*, on the upper left, is the daughter of the sun-woman (an unidentified star), the central dot at *m*, symbolizing her eye.

The Moon-man, Tjapara

At the conclusion of the fight between the moon-man, *Tjapara* and *Purukupali*, during creation times, the moon-man went up to the sky, bearing on his face the wounds he received at the hands of *Purukupali*.[80]

It was then *Purukupali* decreed that the whole of creation once dead, would remain dead for ever. However, *Tjapara*, the moon-man, partly escaped that decree, for, although he dies for three days every month, his life is eternally renewed.

As soon as *Tjapara* comes to life, he eats huge meals of the flesh of the mangrove crabs, which makes him grow fat and round at the end of a fortnight. However, this food makes him so ill that he sickens and dies.

The aborigines look upon the thin crescent of the waning moon as the skeleton of *Tjapara*,[81] and the body of the moon (visible by earth shine) as his spirit, *imunka*.

During his daily journey across the sky, the moon-man follows the same path as the sun-woman. He, however, carries a much smaller torch.

At one time the moon-man used to return to the east by a road just under the southern horizon. But a nest of hornets, which lived along that road, stung him so badly that he changed his path and now returns to his home by a northern route.[82]

The moon has four wives who live in the sky with him. They are the

[80] See p. 29 for details of the fight between *Purukupali* and *Tjapara*.

[81] A larval form of one of the cockroaches which curls up into an almost complete circle, is called *Tjaparalinga*, the son of the moon.

[82] Most informants, however, said that the moon returned to the east through the same underground world as the sun-woman.

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

not only in physique but also in intelligence. I should be surprised to find in any other Australian tribe a man with the intelligence and adaptability of my own head boy Mariano.

The flora and fauna of the two islands is very similar to that of the rest of the Northern Territory. The country is mostly flat with a low range of rocky hills between Cape Gambier and Cape Keith on Melville Island, and a still lower range in the centre of Bathurst. The timber consists of the usual Australian trees; gums, stringy-bark, woolly-butt, bloodwood and ironwood cover most of the two islands, broken here and there by patches of open grassland and in other places by dense patches of jungle where snakes and "devils" thrive and the natives seldom enter. Wallabies are extraordinarily plentiful, but there are no kangaroos. Buffaloes are found on Melville in small numbers. These are the wild descendants of the domestic Indian buffaloes imported for agricultural purposes by the early settlers at Fort Dundas. At one time they had increased and multiplied to such effect that thousands were shot every year without any appreciable effect upon their numbers. At the present time, however, probably owing to many of the cows being killed, there are probably not more than a thousand on the island. The natives are seldom able to kill a buffalo though they realise the fact that it is good to eat.

Not only are wallabies plentiful, but there is also an abundant supply of the other native articles of food, fish, crocodile, birds of all kinds, wild honey, yams and other native vegetables. As a result of this abundance of foods, it would seem that the two islands had a greater density of population than is to be found in almost any other part of Australia.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION

The people inhabiting Melville and Bathurst Islands are subdivided into a number of local groups. These local groups are the important sections of the population since they act as land-owning groups, war-making groups, have a solidarity of their own which is far stronger than any tribal solidarity that may exist and even to some extent regulate marriage.

Before considering these hordes in detail, however, something must be said about the tribal name. All the hordes practise the same customs, speak the same language and inter-marry. The boundaries of the people speaking this language are of course strictly defined by the sea. In other words, the people of Melville and Bathurst have a solidarity of their own,

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

184 619 they speak one language and they regard a certain defined area of land as belonging to them.

[171] 619 101 The Australian tribe is a collection of persons who speak a common language, or what they themselves regard as such, practise the same customs, and normally have a name by which they distinguish themselves and their language. The inhabitants of Melville and Bathurst Islands are therefore to be regarded as a single tribe, but it is difficult to find a true tribal name. The Uwaidja of Port Essington call the Melville Islanders, *Wuŋuk*, as Spencer notes, but the Melville Islanders scarcely regard it as necessary to call themselves anything. The local group of 186 648 101 which a man is conscious of being a member is the horde, and until the advent of the white man, the Melville Islander was not aware that any other people existed except themselves. It was impossible and also quite unnecessary for them to visit the mainland in their bark canoes more especially as the coast around Cape Don and Cape Hotham, dimly seen [175] on clear days, was regarded as the abode of departed souls, *Tibambinumi*, the home of the dead. It was apparently just as impossible or unnecessary, or perhaps danger was the chief deterrent, for the Uwaidja or the Larakia to visit Melville Island.

The result was that the people, with no contact with people not of their own tribe, did not really need a tribal name, and very seldom used the word *Tiwi*, which is the only one that can be regarded as the name of the tribe.

101 Tiwi is a word that is known and but seldom used. Some of the younger men were in fact surprised and interested when they heard the old men using it in response to my enquiries. There is no question of secrecy or tabu about it. In common everyday use are the words *tini*, meaning a man of one of the Melville or Bathurst Island hordes, *i.e.*, a male member of the Tiwi, and *tiya* meaning a female member of the tribe. *Tiwi* is the plural form of *tini* and *tiya*. It is often said by informants that *tini* means a man, and *tiya* a woman, irrespective of colour or race, but in point of fact these words are only used as applying to members of the *Tiwi*, and some other word would be used in referring to a white man, or a Larakia or Uwaidja.

101 619 Objection may be made to the adoption as the tribal name of these people of a word that theoretically at any rate seems simply "men" in the ordinary language. But in point of fact the word is never used except

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

BEFORE
the advent of the buffalo-hunters, few white men had visited the islands since the early days of the naval settlement at Fort Dundas, established by Sir Gordon Bremer in 1824, but abandoned four years later. Malays and Japanese pearlers have been in the habit of taking in water from either of the islands and have frequently come into disastrous conflict with the natives. It is perhaps also on account of their isolation from civilization that I found the blacks comparatively free from any serious disease. Apart from the various minor ailments such as traumatic lesions and their after-effects, cataracts and keratitis, a few congenital deformities and such like, only a few cases of tertiary syphilis came under my notice.

A young gin was suffering from a disease of the hip, apparently chronic, but she was too timid to permit me to make an examination. They are on the whole a healthy, sturdy people of moderate stature, with a good muscular development and a square, big thorax. The characteristics are Australoid and yet they present certain insular peculiarities.

The Head.

The forehead is low, with a marked supraorbital development; the face somewhat depressed and the lower jaw strong. The eyes are sunken and the nose is small. The wavy black hair of some of the males was worked up into numerous small, cylindrical, pendant masses with clay and ochre.[1] This, so far as I could ascertain, designated mourning. Others had besmeared their hair with ochre. The hairs on the upper lip are pulled out. The growth of the beard of the men varies, but is, on an average, good.

The natives of either island do not practise the knocking out of one or two incisors as they do on the mainland. Major Campbell,[2] however, reports having observed the custom on Melville Island.

The face is painted symmetrically with differently coloured ochres, charcoal, and pipeclay, in various degrees of complexity (Fig. 1). A few of the simpler designs might be described briefly:—*Case* (1): The whole surface of the face blackened with charcoal. *Case* (2): The nose red and the rest of the face charcoal-black. *Case* (3): Face (including the shaven upper lip and upper part of chin) charcoal-

[1] *Cf.* J. MacGillivray, *Narrative Voyage H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* London, 1852, vol. ii, p. 13: "The characteristic mode of dressing the hair among the Torres Strait Islanders is to have it twisted up into long pipe-like ringlets, and wigs in imitation of this are also worn"; and again, "at Cape York I have at times for a week together seen all the men and lads with the hair twisted into little strands well daubed over with red ochre and turtle fat."

Also P. P. King, *Survey of the Intertropical Coasts of Australia*, 1837, vol. i, p. 114: "The men were more muscular and better formed than any we have before seen, they were daubed over with a yellow pigment which was the colour of the neighbouring cliff (Luxmore Head on Melville Island); their hair was long and curly and appeared to be clotted with a whitish paint."

[2] *Journ. Geogr. Society*, London, 1834, vol. iv, p. 153. *Cf.* also H. Klaatsch: *Rep. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Science*, 1907, vol. xi, p. 591.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

or more, parallel ridges, is found first, as vertically disposed ridges, about 10 centimetres in length, on the outer surface of the upper arm, in the region of the deltoid muscle (*vide* Fig. 2, A and B); secondly, as two or three horizontal ridges, about 20 centimetres long, upon the chest and abdomen, either in the epigastrium or immediately below the nipples, or in the umbilical region; thirdly, as two or three ridges, horizontally disposed or slightly inclined from back to front, on the buttocks and outer surface of the thighs (*vide* Fig. 2, A).

Occasionally a horizontal row of short vertical scars is cut upon the forehead immediately above the eyes (*vide* Fig. 2, B); and also an asymmetrical vertical group on the chest or back consisting of a number of parallel scars which slant outwards and downwards from the sternum or spine, respectively (*vide* Fig. 2, A).

The palm-leaf pattern is composed of a series of V-shaped figures, whose angles rest one within the other and point downwards (or upwards as the case may be) and are so disposed as to lie one immediately above or below the other in a vertical line; the enclosing sides standing out as parallel and inclined ridges. The constituent V's are often slightly larger in the centre of the group than at either

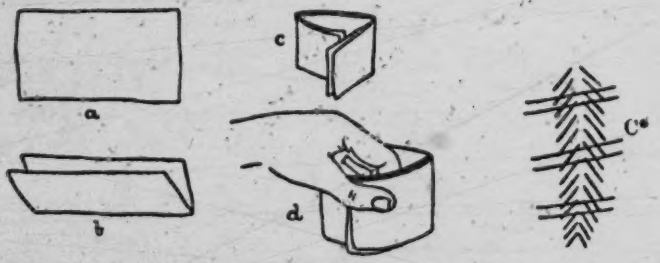

FIG. 3.

end. There is little doubt that the incentive to this design was given by the leaf of the "*Zamia*" (*Cycas media*). The designs, being of different dimensions and of different lengths according to their situation, were observed on the back (on both or either side of the spine) and on the upper and outer surfaces of the arm and thigh (*vide* Plate XVI). The number of the completed palm leaves, in any one particular part of the body, varies. The usual number is from one to three on the arms and thighs, and from two to five, or more, on the back. The design was not noticed on the chest or abdomen. Occasionally a design on the thigh might be seen modified by additional pairs of horizontal scars[1] (*vide* Fig. 3, C*).

[1] I also observed the same "palm-leaf" scars on the chest, back, and arms of Melville Island natives. These natives also paint their faces with ochre; one conspicuous method in use is to paint the hair yellow, the nose red, and to daub the chest yellow over the region of the sternum.

Professor H. Klaatsch also noticed some of the scars on the Melville Island natives and stated that "they are totally different from the ornamentations on the mainland. They seem to imitate leaves arranged on a branch; but I make the suggestion that they are connected with the arrangements of the barbs on spears." *Rep. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Science*, 1907, vol. xi, p. 566.